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ANALYSIS OF THE MISSION INDIAN CREATION STORY

By THOMAS WATERMAN

THE creation stories of the various Mission Indian peoples of southern California have been the subject of a number of papers by different authors. The bulk of the material has been collected by Miss Constance Goddard DuBois, and has appeared from time to time in the *Journal of American Folk-lore*. A section of this author's paper in the University of California *Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, "The Religion of the Luiseño Indians," is also devoted to this subject. Other articles bearing on this general theme are "Two Myths of the Mission Indians of California," by A. L. Kroeber, and an account of a Diegueño creation myth included in "The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians," an unpublished manuscript by the writer of the present paper. With every list of papers on this or any related subject must be mentioned the earliest written account of Mission Indian mythology, the treatise of the Franciscan missionary Boscana. This is printed in Robinson's *Life in California* (New York, Wiley and Putnam, 1846) under the sub-title of "Chinigichinich." Supplementary to the Diegueño version of the creation story must be considered Miss DuBois' two "Chaup" or Cuyahomarr stories, though they are not concerned primarily with creation. They too were printed in the *Journal of American Folk-lore*. For the sake of brevity all of these sources have been arranged and assigned designations in the accompanying table.

As is perhaps well enough known, the term "Mission Indians" applies to three peoples in southern California, the Luiseño (Shoshonean), the Cahuilla (also Shoshonean), and the Diegueño (Yuman). Historically, the term does not apply to the Mohave (the linguistic kindred of the Diegueño, living on the Colorado river) since these latter never came under the direct influence of the Missions. In mythology, however, and in religion, these Mohave show un-

doubted traces of relationship with the Mission peoples proper. This relationship is so evident, especially as regards the Luiseño, that a discussion of the Mission Indian stories would be incomplete without a reckoning with the Mohave account. While historically inaccurate, the inclusion of the Mohave among the Mission Indians is critically a necessity in a consideration of mythology. In the following paper therefore this Mohave myth is discussed as one of the Mission group.

AUTHOR	PUBLICATION	TITLE	PAGES	DESIGNATION
Boscana	In Robinson, <i>Life in California</i> , New York, 1846	(San Juan Capistrano) Serrano Version	241-248	A
Boscana	Idem.	(San Juan Capistrano) Playano Version	249-257	B
C. G. DuBois	<i>Journ. Am. Folklore</i> , XVII, 1904	Luiseño Creation Myth (La Jolla)	185-188	C
C. G. DuBois	Idem., XIX, 1906	Luiseño Creation Myth	52-60	D
C. G. DuBois	<i>Univ. Cal. Publ. in Am. Arch. Ethn.</i> , VIII, 1908	Luiseño Creation, Third Version	128-138	E
C. G. DuBois	Idem.	Luiseño Creation, Fourth Version	138-148	F
A. L. Kroeber	<i>Journ. Am. Folklore</i> , XIX, 1906	(Luiseño) Origin of the World	312-314	G
A. L. Kroeber	Idem.	Mohave Account of Origins	314-316	H
C. G. DuBois	Idem., XIV, 1901	(Diegueño) Story of the Creation	181-184	J
C. G. DuBois	Idem., XXI, 1908	Yuma Creation Myth	236	K
Thomas Waterman	Univ. of Cal. Ms.	(Diegueño) Creation Story		L
C. G. DuBois	<i>Journ. Am. Folklore</i> , XVII, 1904	The Story of the Chaup	217-242	M
C. G. DuBois	Idem., XIX, 1906	The Story of Yahomarr	147-164	N

NATURE OF OUR SOURCES

Of the papers enumerated in the above table those by Miss DuBois (C, D, E, F, J, K) concern principally, as shown by the list, the Luiseño account. To these as coming from the same "tribe" must be added another Luiseño account, transcribed by Dr A. L. Kroeber (G). With these Luiseño versions must be compared the so-called "Serrano" and "Playano," or "inland" and "coast," versions obtained by Father Boscana around Mission San Juan Capistrano (A, B). The people so named are subdivisions of the Luiseño linguistic group; and the myths therefore, as we would expect, are related more or less closely to the typical Luiseño versions. The same remark might almost apply to the "Cahuilla" mentioned in the opening paragraph, with the added note that their creation story, while never published, is almost certainly characterized by close adherence to the Luiseño form—so close, in fact, that the myths are practically the same. The Diegueño story is represented by three printed myths, two from Miss DuBois (J, K) and one (L) from the present writer.¹ The Mohave account is represented by only one printed version (H), but this is a summary or outline from a number of independent renderings. It therefore enables us to make a perfectly fair comparison of the foregoing with the Mohave account.

It must be mentioned in passing that the latest creation myth published by Miss DuBois (namely K) while called by that author a "Yuma" account, is presupposed in the following pages to be Diegueño. The reason for this is that the present writer considers her "Yuma" to be partially equivalent to his "Diegueño." "Yuma" is used by both the natives and whites of the region in question to denote vaguely either "the people to the southeast" or the supposititious predecessors in the land of the present race.² Thus the northern Diegueño in their English speech apply it to the southern Diegueños, who speak a slightly different dialect, and these in turn apply it to the Mohave. The term is therefore robbed of its exact

¹ Version J is from Mesa Grande, L from a Kamiyai at Campo, so that they represent the extreme north and south of Diegueño territory.

² The term as used by the Diegueño may be a corruption of the Luiseño word *yumaik*, 'formerly.'

significance, for in a technical sense they all, Diegueños and Mohave alike, are "Yumas." Since the myth fits into the Diegueño scheme in its internal features, and since these features make it absolutely certain that it is not Mohave, we may perhaps without violence accept it as plainly Diegueño.

Comparison is always most easy and convincing when the entire mythologies concerned can be studied side by side. Such a method makes the relationship between the southern California creation stories most apparent. The study even of extended parallel passages reveals a most interesting condition of interrelation. Either method is however inapplicable within the limits of a purely critical paper. The writer has therefore, in default of a better method, chosen a number of "incidents" or "themes" to furnish a basis of study. All of these are prominent elements in the mythologies concerned, and the reader will see that they are in the main typical not only of the Mission Indian but of the usual California creation story.

1. Origin : *a* by growth or birth.
b by creation.
2. Origin of the sun.
3. Genesis of mankind.
4. Origin of culture.
5. Advent of death.
6. Culture-hero.
7. Death of the culture-hero.
8. Apotheosis of the culture-hero.
9. Rascal disposition of Coyote.
10. Migration of mankind.
11. Transformation into animals out of a human type.
12. Reversal in primeval times of the well-known conditions.
13. Sexual relations between brother and sister.

DISCUSSION OF PARALLEL THEMES IN MISSION INDIAN CREATION MYTHS

1a. *Origin by Birth or Growth*

As we have seen, there have been published seven accounts of the Luiseño creation myth. Of these six give an account of origins which may be outlined briefly as follows :

"In the beginning Sky (written variously as Tukmit, Tukmish, Tukomit, Tucomish, and Dupash) was a man, Earth (Tamaiovit, Tanowish, or Tamaiwot) was a woman. From their union were born all things,—people, the animals, the sun, trees, rocks, and rivers,—but not as we know them now. All things were then people" (A, C, D, E, F, G). Several accounts, notably E, F, and D, give a detailed account of certain "chaotic" existences which preceded the organization of Earth and Sky as man and woman. Things as they now are, however, came by birth from Earth as a mother. This, then, according to the Luiseño, is the origin of existence.

With this we must compare the Mohave account: "The first were the sky, a man, and the earth, a woman. These met far in the west and from their union were born . . . all the people, the animals, and plants." There follows on this introduction a slightly different train of incidents, but it is evident that the fundamental idea is the same.

1b. *Origin by Creation*

The Diegueño account however says that in the beginning everything was water (J 236, K 181, L). Things, in place of being born, were first created by two creators, Tuchaipa and his brother Yokomatis. All the Diegueño sources agree as definitely on this as do the Luiseño and Mohave sources on the other view of Origin. We find therefore a contrast at the outset between the Diegueño account on the one hand and the Luiseño-Mohave narratives on the other. This line of demarcation will be found evident in some degree throughout the following pages.

Before the position of our various sources on the matter of "primeval origin" can be considered as even tentatively sketched, mention must be made of several points in Miss DuBois' two accounts (J and K) which seem to contradict what has just been said, and to ascribe to the Diegueño a belief similar to that held by the Luiseño. For instance: "When Tuchaipa made the world, *the Earth is the woman, the Sky is the man* (J 181). "*When (Tuchaipa and Yokomatis) came forth from the Earth mother* they had to pass throughout the ocean which then covered the land" (K 236). These two sentences seem to flatly contradict what has just been

said, that there is a *contrast* between the Luiseño and Diegueño beliefs. A little further perusal, however, of the two passages quoted, shows that this supposition is groundless, and the contradiction more apparent than real. The first sentence begins: "When Tuchaipa made the world." Here we have described origin by creation, in place of the Luiseño origin by birth. Moreover in the following lines there is no actual mention of *birth from earth-mother*, which is the crux of the Luiseño type of myth. The second sentence furthermore, if it indicate that the Luiseño belief is the same as the Diegueño, is in hopeless contradiction with our other Luiseño sources (see D 53, and G 314). These reveal a belief that the ocean is earth-mother's urine. It is probable, indeed, that these two sentences came into the myths in question either from a bias on the part of the author, or from a combination of Luiseño and Diegueño story-elements by the native narrator. It is certain in the second place that whether or not these passages in question have a right to a place in the Diegueño myth, Tuchaipa is pictured unmistakably as a creator. For instance: "Now I am going to make hills and valleys and little hollows of water." "Then he made the forests . . . then he took clay and made . . . the men. . . . You make the moon as I have made the sun" (J 182). "So Tuchaipa made the world by himself. He made all the people . . . then he made the moon and the sun" (K 236). So whether or not the two sentences which seem to indicate a structural resemblance between the two myths are authentic Diegueño elements or Luiseño glosses, further evidence of unmistakable import indicates that there is no such relationship. While the Luiseño and Mohave accounts are similar, the Luiseño and Diegueño are inherently and vitally dissimilar.

2. *Origin of the Sun*

After the creation of the world, perhaps the most important element is the genesis of the sun. According to the Luiseños, the sun (C,D,E) came by birth from earth-mother. He so amazed the other "children" by his intolerable heat and brightness that earth-mother caught him up and hid him away again for a season—a thing which she has continued to do periodically ever since, to the

great relief of the rest of creation. The Diegueño account (L, and compare J 181 and K 236) says that the creator took clay "and made a round flat object and tossed it up against the sky. It stuck there and made everything light. It is the sun." So in this important detail of the creation narrative we find the Luiseño and Diegueño accounts again in noticeable contrast. The Mohave account (H 313) is somewhat like the Diegueño, in that the sun is created for a definite purpose. Students of the solar "theme" will also observe that the solar "criteria" — intolerable heat, brightness, etc., — so picturesquely present in the Luiseño account (see D and E), are absent from the Diegueño.

3. *Genesis of Mankind*

A reversed situation is found in the relation of the beliefs concerning the creation of man, for in this the Mohave account agrees with that of the Luiseño. People in the Luiseño conception are merely, along with sun, trees, rocks, and animals, children of earth-mother. The Diegueño story (J 182, K 236, L), like the Mohave account, describes the first man as a being made from clay. "Then he took a piece of yellow clay and split it part-way up. That is the way he made man." "He dug in the ground, and took mud, and made of it the men." Father Boscana's Playano version gives a similar account (B 250): "Nocumo . . . created man out of the earth." This account is however but one out of seven, and so does not alter our conclusion concerning the usual or typical Luiseño view. Once more therefore we find the Luiseño and Mohave myths in agreement.

4. *Origin of Culture*

As far as our Luiseño sources deal at all with the origin of culture, they picture all the arts and crafts as being either taught by the culture-hero, Wiyot, or springing spontaneously into the minds of the people at the time of his death and in connection with his funeral rites (D 55): Wiyot "taught the people"; 56: "he died, and death came into the world"; 58: After the death of Wiyot "they knew how to make the fiestas and sing and dance." E 135: "Before Wiyot died he told them to get together and make races"; 60: "he told the people that they must take the small bones of the

(deer's) leg for awls with which to make baskets. This was the beginning of basket making." C 185: Then Wiyot "taught them how to make baskets, ollas, redas, and all their arts." The culture myth is not, however, in any degree particularized. The two early accounts (Boscana's) picture Wiyot as an actual earthly tyrant or despot. It is rather evident however that this peculiar view comes from Boscana's own misconception as a churchman and a subjective view of the Indian hero's real function in mythology. The Mohave account seems to resemble the Luiseño version closely in outline, with differences only in the proper names concerned. Their myth seems however to be more systematic and detailed.

According to the Diegueño view, though their account is itself inconsistent, culture came originally from two sources. A great snake, Maihaiowit (see L), living in a house out on the ocean, had all the arts and crafts inside of himself. He was invited by the people to the shore and into a house. There on account of their sudden terror at his immense size he was cremated by them. When the fire touched him he burst or exploded and all the culture came flying out. Certain of the Diegueño religious ceremonies however are described in the "Chaup" story as originating in another manner (see M, N). In regard to this fourth "theme," therefore, the Luiseño and Mohave accounts are similar, except in the matter of names, while the Diegueño account is different from both.

5. *Advent of Death*

Few if any of the sources give detailed descriptions of the manner in which death came into the world. Enough of them mention it, however, to show that it is an inherent part or element in southern California creation mythology. In the Luiseño version universal death follows as the result of the death of Wiyot. (D 58: "For when they found that death had come into the world they did not know what to do." D 59: Wiyot "called the people about him and told them that he was the one who had made death." E 137: "There was no death before this time." F 146: "He thought he would go north to get away from death, as he found there was going to be death after Wiyot died.") The Mohave myth seems to be silent on the point. One Diegueño version (J 183) gives an elabo-

rate treatment of the theme: Fly, at a time when all were debating on the choice they had of dying for good, dying for a time and returning, or living forever without dying at all, rashly counseled the former. So now everything must die forever.¹ This feature seems to set the Diegueño story off from the Luiseño and Mohave myths.

6. *Culture-hero*

As suggested already, the culture-hero of the Luiseño, so far as they have any, is Wiyot. One account (F 145) says that Tukmit, the sky, divided the people into "tribes," or races, and gave them their religion. This is more than likely an individual variation. The lack in this connection of concrete detail concerning the actions of the culture-hero is matched by a tendency in Boscana to ascribe some of the culture-hero episodes to Chungichnish, or "Chinigichinich," almost a deity among the Luiseños, who seems however in the modern accounts to be felt only vaguely as a person. In all the versions except the one mentioned in which Tukmit usurps his place, Wiyot is a semi-divine teacher. The Mohave parallel to Wiyot is the two characters Matevilye and Mastamho. These are Earth-born semi-divine heroes who divide between them the incidents characteristic of the Luiseño Wiyot. The younger, like Wiyot, leads the people in certain primeval migrations, separates them into nations, and in several respects fills the place of a culture-hero (H 316, cf. G 313). Matevilye, the elder, came to his death, once more like Wiyot, through the machinations of the Frog, whom he had offended. At his cremation, as in the story of Wiyot, Coyote leaps up and eats his heart. These and other resemblances make it obvious that the Luiseño and Mohave narratives have more than a merely external similarity.

Among the Diegueño the origin of culture is associated, as we have seen, with the arrival of a great snake, Diegueño Maihaiowit, Mohave Humasereha, from the ocean. There is no further similarity in the stories. The Diegueño moreover have no character that will at all compare with the Mohave Matevilye and Mastamho, nor the Luiseño Wiyot. In their Chaup story, which to a certain extent deals with origins, they have like the Mohave two "gods"

¹ This is of course a favorite theme in all myths concerning the origin of death. Cf. Dr A. L. Kroeber in *Journ. Amer. Folk-lore*, 1908, XXI, 227.

or heroes, but the incidents associated with them find no parallel in the Luiseño or Mohave stories. Once more therefore we find the Mohave and Luiseño accounts manifesting a relationship or at least a similarity, which is in no apparent degree shared by that of the Diegueño.

7. *Death of the Culture-hero*

As pointed out by Dr Kroeber (*Journ. Am. Folk-lore*, 1908, xxi, 225), the death of the culture-hero is a fundamental and typical motive in southern California mythology. The episode is described in almost similar words in six (A, C, D, E, F, G) out of the seven Luiseño, in the Mohave (H), and in one of the three Diegueño accounts (J). It has already been outlined.

In several elements, however, the typical Diegueño version, in spite of external resemblances, is intrinsically different from the Luiseño and Mohave accounts. In the first place, the incident in the Diegueño account mentioned (J), is described as having occurred to *Tuchaipa the creator*. He does not in name or attributes correspond to Wiyot. In the second place, the Diegueño account lacks the point of the whole story, in that the hero of the incident does not return after death as the moon, Moila. In fact the moon is distinctly mentioned as being present before the death of Tuchaipa. The incident of the poisoning is also differently described. In the Luiseño version Wiyot notices Frog, a woman, in bathing, and remarks that her back is flat and shapeless like a frog's. In anger Frog determines to poison him. In the Diegueño version the laughter of the people who were looking on at a race between Frog and Rabbit caused the former's anger. Since the entire frog episode is missing in the other two versions of the Diegueño myth, and since the version which possesses it shows these dissimilarities to the typical Luiseño account, and, most important of all, since the narrative in question was obtained at Mesa Grande, within a stone's throw almost of Luiseño influence, we may perhaps regard it as neither intrinsically Luiseño nor Diegueño, but a rather illogical combination of elements from both myths. The real Diegueño view is in that case represented by the two Chaup myths of Miss DuBois, in which the hero is metamorphosed into Ball-lightning. This is the view held by the present writer, that the Luiseño and

Mohave accounts are similar to each other, while the Diegueño in this regard is quite distinct from them.

8. *Apotheosis of the Culture-hero*

In the matter of a change or alteration in the outward or bodily form of the culture-hero, when his career on earth is finished, all three myths show a striking parallelism. It is perhaps characteristic of the usual culture-hero myth that the hero undergoes some metamorphosis or apotheosis. The Luiseño adaption of the theme has led to one of the curious indentifications of which all religious literatures are full. The similarity of Wiyot's return after death as the moon, to the Christian doctrine of the resurrection, leads the Luiseño to identify Wiyot with Christ. The other two mythologies under discussion are like the Luiseño in this, that the culture-hero in each one is transformed into some local natural phenomenon. The Diegueño culture-hero becomes Chaup, the electric fire-ball,¹ while the Mohave Mastamho (H 316) undergoes a picturesque transformation into the Fish Eagle.²

9. *Rascal Disposition of Coyote*

Enough has already been said in connection with the death of the culture-hero to indicate the "marplot" part which Coyote plays in that episode. This is interesting particularly because Coyote occurs widely in California mythology as a "marplot." This theme is unmistakably typical of both the Luiseño (see A 245, D 55, E 132, F 145, and G 314) and Mohave (H) accounts, and if our hypothesis concerning source J is true, is absent from the Diegueño account. Although negative evidence is not conclusive, especially in the present case, the fact that mention of Coyote is made only once in Diegueño mythology as so far known, in a passage of composite origin, must be considered rather significant.

¹ The Diegueño story of Chaup, or Cuyahomarr, is not to be confused with the absurdly-named "cannibal meteor" story locally current among the northern Luiseños (see A. L. Kroeber, *Journ. Amer. Folk-lore*, 1906, XIX, 316, and compare with this a fanciful rendition by G. Wharton James, *ibid.*, 1903, XVI, 153). The myths refer to the same phenomenon, but are not identical.

² The eagle is a ceremonial bird among the Luiseños, Diegueños, and Mohave. See L, also G 313.

10. Migration of Mankind

In the Diegueño myth concerning origins mankind is created at a mountain called Wikami (L), apparently the same, both etymologically and geographically, as the Mohave Avikwame. From that mountain the tribes according to both myths separated after building a "house" and spread over the world. The Mohave myth pictures a migration prior to the separation at Avikwame, which bears a strong resemblance to the Luiseño migrations under Wiyot (C 53, E 132, G 313). The Diegueño have also certain brief migration traditions, but they are localized in various families¹ and do not at all correspond to this Mohave-Luiseño story of a general migratory stage in the history of human kind. We have a rather unique condition then, in that there is a structural relationship in the names concerned between the Mohave and the Diegueño accounts, but a relation of the story elements between the Mohave and the Luiseño.

11. Transformation into Animals out of the Human Type

In all the Luiseño accounts quoted we find the familiar belief that animals were at one time people like ourselves. For instance: "So the four of them . . . people, but later the frog, the earthworm, the gopher, and a water animal resembling the gopher, combined to destroy him" (D 55). "So the rattlesnake, then a man, searched" (loc. cit.). "So they (the people) turned into different kinds of animals and different kinds of grain and all the things we have now in the world." The Diegueño account is still more picturesque in describing a similarly general transformation (see *Jour. Amer. Folklore*, 1906, XIX, 161). The Mohave account, however, so far as our outline indicates, wholly lacks this theme. In this instance therefore the Luiseño and Diegueño accounts are similar.

12. Reversal in Primeval Times of Well-known Conditions

While not so prominent in the Mission group as in some other mythologies, this theme is nevertheless fairly well defined. Outside of the fact just mentioned (the transformation into animals), we find that the earth used to be the universal food (A 245, B 252, D 53, etc.); dry land used to be small, and had to be stretched to

¹ As the La Chapa family at Manzanita.

accommodate the people (A 244, D 54); people all had the same language (G 313). The Diegueños say that the rocks in primeval times were soft, so that wherever the people stepped, they left hollows in the boulders. So also the animals and plants used to be without markings, but were marked by "Chaup" (*Journ. Amer. Folk-lore*, 1906, XIX, 161). The theme does not appear to be emphasized in the Mohave accounts.

13. Sexual Relations between Brother and Sister

This has been named as a rather distinctive theme in some mythologies, and it may be well therefore to mention that it is present in the Luiseño and Mohave accounts in the relation between Sky and his sister Earth. To all appearance the theme is foreign to the Diegueño account. In this final regard therefore the Luiseño and Mohave accounts are similar.

Viewed in tabular form, the results of the foregoing study are as follows:

THEME	A—SOURCES IN AGREEMENT	B—SOURCES IN CONTRAST TO "A"	C—SOURCES WHICH ARE SILENT
1. Origin of the <i>Mundus</i>	<i>Luiseño</i> A B C D E F G <i>Mohave</i> H	<i>Luiseño</i> B <i>Diegueño</i> J K L	
2. Origin of the Sun	<i>Diegueño</i> J K L <i>Mohave</i> H <i>Luiseño</i> F	<i>Luiseño</i> C D E	<i>Luiseño</i> A B C
3. Genesis of Mankind	<i>Luiseño</i> A B C D E F G <i>Mohave</i> H	<i>Luiseño</i> B <i>Diegueño</i> J K L .	
4. Origin of Culture	<i>Luiseño</i> (A B) C D E <i>Mohave</i> H	<i>Diegueño</i> J K L	<i>Luiseño</i> F
5. Origin of Death	<i>Luiseño</i> C D E F	<i>Diegueño</i> J	<i>Luiseño</i> A B G <i>Diegueño</i> K L <i>Mohave</i> H
6. Culture-hero	<i>Luiseño</i> (A B) ¹ C D E G <i>Mohave</i> H	<i>Luiseño</i> F <i>Diegueño</i> J L M N	<i>Diegueño</i> K <i>Luiseño</i> (A B)
7. Death of the Culture-hero	<i>Luiseño</i> A B C D E F G <i>Diegueño</i> J <i>Mohave</i> H		<i>Luiseño</i> B <i>Diegueño</i> K L
8. Apotheosis of the Culture hero	<i>Luiseño</i> C D E F G <i>Diegueño</i> M N <i>Mohave</i> H	<i>Luiseño</i> A B	

¹ See under "Origin of Culture."

THEME	A—SOURCES IN AGREEMENT	B—SOURCES IN CONTRAST TO "A"	C—SOURCES WHICH ARE SILENT
9. Rascal Nature of Coyote	<i>Lui-seño</i> A B C D E F G <i>Diegueño</i> J <i>Mohave</i> H		<i>Lui-seño</i> B <i>Diegueño</i> K L
10. Migration of Mankind	<i>Lui-seño</i> E F G <i>Mohave</i> H		<i>Lui-seño</i> A B <i>Diegueño</i> J K L
11. Transformation into Animals from a Human Type	<i>Lui-seño</i> C D E F G <i>Diegueño</i> J L		<i>Lui-seño</i> A B <i>Diegueño</i> K <i>Mohave</i> H
12. Reversal in Primeval Times of well-known conditions	<i>Lui-seño</i> A B D G <i>Diegueño</i> J L <i>Mohave</i> H		<i>Lui-seño</i> C <i>Diegueño</i> K
13. Sexual Relations between Brother and Sister	<i>Lui-seño</i> A B C D E F G <i>Mohave</i> H		<i>Lui-seño</i> B <i>Diegueño</i> J K L

Briefly, our conclusions from the foregoing table are these:

In the first place, source B, Boscana's second version, differs in respect to ten or eleven out of our thirteen themes from the average *Lui-seño* account. We may consider it roughly ten-thirteenths non-*Lui-seño*. Considered from a purely impressionistic point of view, the account seems to bear more resemblance to the mythologies of the peoples to the north and east than to our other Mission Indian stories. The crowding of the fishes in a narrow ocean, and the fixation of the world by a central rock, "Tosaut," are cases in point. If this supposition is true, the "Chungichnish" portion of the narrative is to be considered a *Lui-seño* addition or a gloss by Boscana himself. In that case the myth itself springs from some source other than the Mission cultures. While nothing definite can be decided, a comparison of all our other Mission stories makes it seem likely that this myth is itself scarcely Mission.

In the second place, a glance at the table shows that the relation between the *Mohave* and *Lui-seño* accounts is, rather surprisingly, closer than that between the *Mohave* and *Diegueño*, though these latter are kindred peoples. That is to say, in nine out of thirteen cases the *Lui-seño* sources agree with the *Mohave*; while

in only two out of the entire number do the Mohave and Diegueño agree. The resemblance between the Luiseño and Diegueño is really inconsiderable (three out of thirteen elements), since any two mythologies, although totally unrelated, might agree on two or three episodes, especially episodes of the nature of those discussed. It is apparent, therefore, if the conclusions on which we have proceeded are reliable, that there is no inherent relationship between the accounts which the Luiseños and Diegueños give of creation, and a relationship only in the terminology or etymology concerned between the Diegueños and Mohaves. The Luiseño and Mohave accounts on the other hand are clearly related.

CONCLUSION

The bearing of these themes, and our conclusions concerning them on the outstanding literature of the Mission Indian area, are of course quite evident. Accepting our premises as outlined, it becomes apparent that the "versions" and myths so far printed fall into five classes:

- I. The Luiseño creation myths. 6 versions, A, C, D, E, F, G
- II. The related Mohave creation myth. H (a summary)
- III. An independent Diegueño creation myth. (K, L)
- IV. The so-called Playano myth (non-Luiseño). B
- V. Composite myth (combining I and III).¹ L

The only differences in the above somewhat numerous Luiseño versions are those which arise from the personal factor in the native informant. The Mohave version is almost equally well defined. The precise content of the Diegueño story can be finally decided when other versions have been obtained. Enough is clear, however, to show that in all probability it is thoroughly independent of the other two narratives.

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¹ There is some evidence to indicate that this myth is localized in the border region about Mesa Grande.